

**National Union of Healthcare Workers
2020 Presidential Candidate
Questionnaire**

To help NUHW assess your candidacy, please complete this questionnaire.

BACKGROUND

Name: **Kamala D. Harris**

Occupation/Employer: **United States Senator**

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Campaign FEC ID Number: **C00694455**

Political Party: **Democratic**

1. Briefly describe your educational background and work experience, including the various public offices you have held and the private sector leadership roles you have played.

I was born in Oakland, CA and attended Berkeley public schools. As an undergraduate, I attended Howard University in Washington, DC where I graduated with a degree in political science and economics. I earned my law degree from the University of California, Hastings College of the Law. After law school, I went to work in the Alameda County District Attorney's Office, where I served as a Deputy District Attorney for eight years. I then had the honor to serve in the San Francisco District Attorney's Office and the San Francisco City Attorney's Office. In 2003, I was elected District Attorney of San Francisco and was re-elected in 2007. In 2010, I was elected Attorney General of California and was re-elected in 2014. In 2016, I was elected to represent California in the United States Senate.

2. Have you ever been a union member? If so, to which union(s) did you belong?

If you were an officer, steward, bargaining committee member, or activist, describe your leadership role.

I have never been a union member but have been a staunch advocate for organized labor throughout my career.

3. What notable endorsements have you received from organizations and individuals?

I'm proud to have strong support from leaders across California including Governor Gavin Newsom and nearly every constitutional officer, U.S. Representatives Barbara Lee, Ted Lieu, Katie Hill and Nanette Diaz Barragán, the vast majority of CA Senate Democrats and labor and civil rights activist Dolores Huerta.

I'm also honored to have received the endorsement of seven members of the Congressional Black Caucus including Barbara Lee of California, Al Green of Texas, Alcee Hastings and Frederica Wilson of Florida, William Lacy Clay of Missouri, Bobby Rush of Illinois and Jahana Hayes of Connecticut.

4. How much money have you raised to date? What is your primary cycle

fundraising target?

My campaign has raised \$23 million from over 335,000 contributors. I believe that in order to rebuild the foundation of our democracy, we have to run a campaign that reflects the values we want to see in our politics. That's why my campaign won't take a dime from Big Oil and Pharma CEOs, federal lobbyists, or SuperPACs. My campaign is powered by the people--and that's the kind of government I will fight to build as president.

5. Beyond our public endorsement, what specific support are you seeking from NUHW?

This is a campaign built by the people, of the people, and for the people. I have been honored to see so much support as I travel the country, particularly from organized labor, and I would be honored to earn the support of NUHW's members as well. I would appreciate your support in identifying key practitioners and experts that could serve as both advisors to and validators of my healthcare agenda.

STATEMENT OF CANDIDACY

Please provide a brief statement of candidacy including the following information:

why you are a candidate for President;

why are you seeking NUHW's endorsement;

what will be your top priorities if elected;

what distinguishes you as the best candidate for the office.

My entire career, I have only had one client: the people. As president, I will fight to restore truth and justice in America and build an economy that works for everyone. My agenda will focus on American families and what wakes them up in the middle of the night and keeps them up late at the kitchen table trying to make it all work. That's why I proposed a 3AM Agenda with solutions that will have a direct and immediate effect on people's lives, paychecks, and health care.

Today, the cost of living is going up, but paychecks aren't keeping up. Our economy is not working for working people. I will fight to make sure that in America you only have to work one job to pay the bills, where healthcare is accessible and affordable to everyone, and anyone is able to join a union. I will fight to expand access to quality health care services, rebuild our

national infrastructure, transition to a clean energy economy, improve early childhood and K-12 education, broaden access to higher education, improve our public safety, and strengthen our safety net.

NUHW is a crucial stakeholder in all of these discussions and hearing from your members will be important to me in shaping policies . Your members help make our healthcare system possible, and I want to lift up their concerns.

Right now, we need someone who has the proven ability to prosecute the case against four more years of this administration, and who can fight for the kind of future we want. That's the kind of president I'll be.

WORKERS' POWER ON THE JOB AND IN THE ECONOMY

Workers are regularly denied the freedom to choose a union due to intimidation, harassment, and other forms of coercion by their employers, and sometimes even by labor organizations. Legal remedies for such violations of workers' rights are far too little, far too late, with the result that these violations are legion and workers' organizing efforts are crushed more often than not. Private sector union density has fallen to 6.4%, and public sector unions are rebuffing attacks in state legislatures and federal courts that have forced them to reinvent themselves to remain viable. Without increased organization and improved legal structures for workplace representation and collective bargaining, U.S. workers' power on the job and in the economy will continue growing weaker, dooming efforts to address rising inequality and its corrosive impacts on our society. Like Franklin Roosevelt, who fought to pass and uphold the National Labor Relations Act in the face of profound economic inequality that threatened the very fabric of the nation – and in the face of profound antagonism from powerful, moneyed interests – the next President will be challenged to fight for the establishment of a new set of labor laws more favorable to workers. The following are among the potential labor law reforms most frequently cited as having the potential for sparking a renewed and revitalized labor movement. Please indicate which of these reforms you would support as President, why you would support them, and how you would overcome the entrenched opposition of corporate lobbyists and right-wing media and politicians to pass them into law:

a) requiring employers to recognize a union as their employees' exclusive collective bargaining agent when presented with a petition demonstrating its support by a majority of the workers;

b) establishing a fast and fair union election procedure that provides the employer and

the union equal physical access and equal time to discuss workers' choice of a union with them; bans factually inaccurate representations and coercive kinds of campaign communications, like mandatory "captive audience" meetings and one-on-one discussions of unionization with supervisors; and establishes a short election period prior to a final and binding secret ballot vote;

c) instituting a sectoral collective bargaining system, with wage boards to set minimum standards;

d) covering union organizing under civil rights laws, with enforcement by right of private action;

e) obliging employers to recognize and bargain with minority unions for members-only contracts;

f) creating federal protections against the firing of workers for any reason other than "just cause";

g) outlawing the "permanent replacement" of striking workers.

I've been a champion of labor my entire career. As Attorney General, my office fought to defend public sector labor unions against conservative attacks. As District Attorney of San Francisco, I prosecuted companies that stole worker wages and put their safety at risk.

But there is so much more work we need to do. There is no question that today, workers rights are under attack across the country, and we need to fight back and pass measures that will make sure everyone is able to join a union. For example, if a majority of workers elect to unionize, that decision should be recognized by the National Labor Relations Board. We also shouldn't be allowing companies to permanently replace workers who lawfully go on strike. Doing so is an infringement on their rights, and I will support efforts to end that practice.

I've co-sponsored legislation to ban so called "right-to-work" laws and to penalize corporations that violate the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively (Protecting the Right to Organize Act). I am also a co-sponsor of several pieces of legislation that would guarantee minimum standards of labor rights for all public sector employees (Public Service Freedom to Negotiate Act), give workers a private right of

action against an employer that violates their rights (Protecting the Right to Organize Act), and codify the “card check” system for union elections (Workplace Democracy Act). As president, I will fight to pass those bills into law. And my administration will fight every day to protect workers and their right to collectively bargain.

Beyond workers’ lack of union organization, the increasing prevalence in our economy of low-wage, service sector jobs, the persistence of chronic unemployment and underemployment, and the diversion of fiscal stimulus into financial speculation all constrain our fight against inequality. To build a higher floor beneath workers’ power on the job and in the economy, do you also:

- support increasing the federal minimum wage to \$15.00 per hour or more?;
- propose any programs that would create large numbers of good jobs while increasing our capacity to meet human needs, upgrade our infrastructure, and enhance our environment?
- In particular, do you support the proposed Green New Deal or other plans to spur equitable growth by pursuing a stronger, more comprehensive response to climate change that would accelerate both the transition to renewable energy sources and the implementation of climate resiliency and adaptation plans, while also providing meaningful transition assistance for workers and communities in the nation’s most carbon-dependent regions?

There’s no question that its long past time we raise the minimum wage. I’m a co-sponsor of the Raise the Wage Act, which would raise the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour. We are also long overdue for more public investment to rebuild our nation’s infrastructure. Doing so will help make our cities more sustainable and will create many quality jobs.

This is part of why I support a Green New Deal and am a co-sponsor of the Senate Green New Deal resolution. We can address the problem of climate change by building a clean economy that creates good paying jobs for the future, and confronts environmental injustice head on. As president I would modernize our transportation, energy, and water infrastructure, accelerate the spread of electric vehicles, solar panels, and wind turbines and make bold investments in innovative technologies to build a carbon free future.

Our solutions to climate change must ensure that we protect the most vulnerable and disadvantaged communities. I will stand up for those most affected by environmental harm because it shouldn't matter how much money you have or what neighborhood you live in — clean air and water are fundamental rights. That's why I created the first ever environmental justice unit in San Francisco as District Attorney. As president, I'll continue that work by restoring environmental and public health protections rolled back by President Trump, and building on work being done in the states and communities across the country to ensure a healthy and sustainable future.

SINGLE PAYER HEALTHCARE

Despite Obamacare's substantial success in reducing the ranks of the uninsured, much work still must be done to achieve affordable, quality healthcare for all. Even with the expansion of Medicaid to cover the near poor, and the availability of significant subsidies to help low and middle income families purchase coverage through healthcare exchanges, millions of Americans remain uninsured and underinsured, as prices remain too high and continue to rise sharply, especially for those living in high cost areas of the nation. The quality of care received by patients also remains inequitable, with significant differences in services provided and treatment outcomes by race, income, and geography. By bringing so many more people into publicly financed, publicly governed systems of care, Obamacare has set the stage for us to organize for the real reform we need and accelerate the fight for single payer healthcare. Do you support the establishment of a single payer healthcare system – a publicly financed system of healthcare for all with a uniform standard of coverage that reduces costs by eliminating the profiteering, administrative waste, and marketing expenditures that accompany private insurance? Are you in favor of pursuing such a system at the national level, and if one is not achievable, would you support the establishment of statewide single payer systems in individual states, as allowed for under the Affordable Care Act? What revenue sources would you support to provide the necessary financing for progressive reform? How would you fight and win the campaign to enact a single payer system over the strong opposition of the healthcare and insurance industries? Do you think it necessary or advisable to enact further intermediate steps on the path to a single payer system? If so, which of these steps would you support, which would you oppose, and why? As healthcare reform proceeds, with expanded emphasis on primary and preventive care, reduced reliance on acute care, and new forms of community-based care and care coordination, what steps would you take to support recruitment and retention of new healthcare workers, retraining and redeployment of the existing healthcare workforce, and protection of current healthcare workers' wages and benefits as they move from historically better paid to historically worse paid jobs?

I believe that affordable health care should be a right, not a privilege. But today in America, the cost of health insurance, surprise bills and prescription drugs is straining budgets and bankrupting families. Health care simply costs too much and it's time to take on the powerful special interests that want to continue to put profit over people. That's why I strongly support Medicare-for-All.

Medicare-for-All will eliminate premiums and out-of-pocket costs. It will guarantee comprehensive care including dental and vision, and ensure Americans are not denied services or doctor choice. It won't leave anyone behind, including the 130 million Americans with pre-existing conditions and 61 million Americans with disabilities. It will save money by taking profit out of America's health care system and finally make affordable, universal coverage a reality.

But we must ensure that we retain our current health care workforce providers and create incentives for providers to create more jobs in preventive and primary care. This Congress, I will also be introducing my Domestic Workers Bill of Rights Act, which will strengthen protections and increase wages for home care workers. As our population ages, it is imperative that we ensure our home care workers are well-supported in the critical work they perform.

MENTAL HEALTH PARITY

Under the Affordable Care Act's expansion of the protections provided by the Mental Health Parity and Addiction Equity Act, as well as under even stronger legislation in several states, mental health services are an essential benefit required to be made available under the same terms as physical healthcare to the majority of individuals covered by private and public insurance plans. Unfortunately, the reality falls far short, as many individuals continue to experience the same lack of access to timely and appropriate mental health services as they faced before, with shortages of providers, lengthy wait times for both initial and return appointments, and treatment options limited to short-term and group therapy even when longer-term and individual therapy is merited. To cite one prominent example, NUHW members successfully prosecuted a complaint against Kaiser Permanente for failing to provide its plan members with timely and appropriate mental health services that resulted in California's Department of Managed Health Care levying a \$4 million fine in March 2013, yet fully six years later, these deficiencies remain un-remedied. If elected, what would you do to ensure that mental health parity is fully implemented and strongly enforced, with timely access to all appropriate services, both preventive and comprehensive?

One of the reasons I support Medicare for All is because it will expand access to mental health care services for all Americans. I believe we need mental health care on demand and have made fighting for access a priority in the Senate.

Last year, I introduced the *Mental Health Telemedicine Expansion Act* that would utilize telemedicine to increase access to mental health services. That would make a real difference for many people who struggle to access mental health services, but particularly in communities without easy access to health care providers. I also introduced the *Mental Health Professionals Workforce Shortage Loan Repayment Act* to authorize a new educational loan repayment program for mental health professionals that agree to practice in areas with a shortage of mental health professionals. I have also co-sponsored the *Behavioral Health Coverage Transparency Act*, which would hold providers accountable for providing mental health services and increase transparency for consumers looking for coverage mental health care and substance abuse disorders.

Every American should have access to mental health services in their community and the legislation I introduced along with Medicare for All will make an immediate impact in bringing more mental health resources across the country. Those are the kind of priorities I will fight for as president.

TAX FAIRNESS

More than a decade since the start of the great recession, our federal budget remains challenged by persistent, large operating and cumulative deficits, our nation's decaying infrastructure grows increasingly outdated, our needs for education and healthcare go chronically underfunded, and we are continually pressured to accept cuts to vital human services, all while corporations and the wealthy continue to benefit from multiple loopholes and tax breaks that allow them to escape paying their fair share and to shift both the costs and the negative consequences onto the rest of us. To break the grip of austerity and to renew the promise of prosperity for working families, we need to restore tax fairness and raise the revenue we need to invest in our people and our future. Where do you stand on each of the following potential items of an agenda to restore tax fairness? Please respond in detail, with specifics regarding each of those measures you would support:

- restoring higher top marginal tax rates for the wealthy (detail proposed brackets and rates);
- instituting a wealth tax (detail proposed rates);
- taxing capital gains and dividends at rates at least the same as earned income;
- restoring appropriate estate taxes (detail exemption levels and tax brackets and

rates);

- enacting a financial transactions tax (detail proposed rates and transactions to be covered);
- closing corporate tax loopholes (detail which specific loopholes you would close);
- eliminating private equity managers' carried interest tax break.

Please also detail any other tax reforms your administration would fight to enact.

In America today, the top 1% and biggest corporations don't pay their fair share in taxes. I believe it needs to change. That's why as President, I will immediately fight to roll back the Trump tax cuts. Instead of cutting taxes for the wealthy, we'll use that money to fund my LIFT Act and give working families up to a \$6,000 tax credit each year. Working families deserve a raise, and that's exactly what I intent to give them as President.

But just reversing the Trump tax cuts isn't enough. For too long, those at the very top have paid far too little in taxes--if they've even paid taxes at all. That's why I've called for closing tax loopholes like the so-called "carried interest loophole," put forward a plan to strengthen the estate tax, and unveiled a sweeping proposal to tax the profits of corporations that fail to provide women equal pay.

Throughout this campaign, I'll continue to discuss my ideas for holding the top 1% and largest corporations accountable for paying their fair share.

COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION

REFORM

Despite the enormous positive impacts of immigrants on the United States' economy and society, the current administration is obsessively seeking to divide our nation by imposing a restrictive immigration regime that would increase detentions and deportations of undocumented individuals, deny them due process, and militarize our borders, while restricting further legal immigration in a manner tainted by racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice. Aggressive immigration enforcement and greater restrictions on legal immigration and refugee resettlement will not only cost taxpayers billions of dollars and threaten public health and public safety, but will break apart families and place vulnerable individuals – such as survivors of domestic violence and sexual assault in the

United States, as well as women and children fleeing harsh violence in their homelands – in peril. What are your proposals to achieve comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship for the 11 million undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States, and expand authorized immigration free of racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice? Please specify how your proposed reforms would address issues of family unification, refugee admissions, employment-based admissions, diversity visas, and temporary permissions including DACA, as well as how you would modify border security measures and what if any role ICE would play under your plan. Please also say if your administration would accept the validity of state and local sanctuary laws.

I have fought on behalf of immigrant communities and for a fair immigration system throughout my career and that's exactly what I'd do as president. As District Attorney, I cracked down on businesses that exploited undocumented immigrants and as Attorney General, I secured pro-bono representation for unaccompanied minors. I have also been a stronger defender of the right of states and cities to enact sanctuary laws. As AG, I issued guidance to California law enforcement, urging them not to comply with ICE detainer requests. Law enforcement should be building trust with the communities they are sworn to protect and acting as a de facto immigration officer does the exact opposite of that.

As Senator, I was proud to lead the charge against President Trump's extreme anti-immigrant agenda, opposing John Kelly's nomination as Secretary of Homeland Security, voting against Trump's border wall funding, and was the first Senator to call for Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen to resign.

As president I would be a champion for immigrant families and fight for comprehensive immigration reform with a pathway to citizenship for the 11 million people living in our communities and contributing to our economy. This is why I will not only immediately reinstate DACA and DAPA to protect DREAMers and their parents from deportation, I would use executive action to create a pathway to citizenship for DREAMers using my authority under the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA). I will issue a rule clarifying that DREAMers are not responsible for a lapse in their status and direct my Homeland Security Secretary to make sure that all DACA recipients receive work authorization. I would also restore and expand Temporary Protected Status for hundreds of thousands of immigrants who would face war or catastrophe if forced to return home.

MOVEMENT ENGAGEMENT AND MOVEMENT

BUILDING

If elected, what steps would you take to remain actively engaged with trade unions and other progressive social movements in making appointments, developing and prioritizing

policy initiatives, determining political strategy, and building the power to enact your policy agenda? Beyond supporting various labor law reform measures, how would you use the power of your office to support the organizing efforts and build the power of progressive groups in civil society?

Let's be clear: A government for the people means a government that works for everyone. Our democracy was built on the principle that every American has an equal voice, but it's not the democracy we have today. During my campaign, listening to the concerns of working families, particularly those involved in the labor movement, has been incredibly valuable and will continue to be a priority when I am president. My White House will lift up the voices of those who are fighting for social change, and labor will be an essential partner in making that change happen.